1: Opler

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Chiricahua

776

/For information on "the power" as a supernatural directive force in an individual, see category 778./

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843 for you. The child gets in the right position for coming out if you move around. The more you are a coward about it, the worse it will be for you."

842 Little attempt is made to control the sex of the expected child.
843 Whether or not such control is possible is a moot point. One informant told of "a ceremony which causes them to have a boy or a girl. It is performed right at the beginning." The man was unable to supply the details, however. On another occasion the same person stated that, if a man scrapes his foot over the four sides of the woman in labor, a boy is born; but, if a woman touches the four sides with her hand, the baby is a girl. Most commentators discount these claims:

> There are lots of people here who would control it if they could, like D., who has all boys and wants a daughter.

> Whether it's a boy or a girl is in Yusn's[1] power; that's the way I look at it. Some shamans say they can control it, but I believe there is nothing to that.

843 However, the activity of the child during the prenatal period furnishes a clue to its sex. A fetus which "has lots of life" is presumed to be a male; a less active one, a female. Estimates of the length of pregnancy are approximately accurate.

[578] It is essential for the expectant mother and her husband to
[754] avoid acrimonious clashes with others. "A pregnant woman has to keep out of fusses with other women because many are witches, and, if she quarrels with them, they may harm the child. The husband has to be careful of witches, too, when his wife is pregnant."

844 At the onset of labor pains close female relatives of the woman
[602] attend her. Her mother, her mother's sisters, her mother's mother, and her older sisters are members of the relationship group from which assistants are most likely to come. If the husband's family lives near by, his mother or sister may be present.
[759] When a woman skilled in midwifery is numbered among these relatives, no outside help is asked. Otherwise the service of a woman who has special ceremonial and practical knowledge is sought. Such a woman is often selected on the basis of "the good luck

[776] [1] A deity known also as Life Giver.

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852 There is a ceremony held over a child when it just begins to walk. . . . . Men and women who know how may carry on this ceremony for the child. They get [787] the power through Child of the Water [the culture hero].[4] It is done to keep the [776] child healthy and strong, and because Child of the Water, when he started to walk, had a ceremony like this one.

[574] The family . . . . has to have a lot of meat and fruit ready. A feast is announced just like the one held at the girl's puberty rite. Many are invited. When a boy goes through this ceremony, they call him Child of the Water. When a [776] girl goes through it, they call her White Painted Woman [the mother of the culture hero]. Every child should go through it.

When my son first began to walk, he had a good ceremony. T. and Old Man D. carried it out. They had power from Child of the Water.

[292] D. directed my wife in the making of the buckskin outfit. It has to be made [531] from the skin of a black-tailed buck for a boy. In D.'s ceremony just a shirt and moccasins are made for the boy. For a girl the outfit has to be made from the skin of a black-tailed doe. Crescents and stars and crosses were the designs. The same designs are used on the girl's clothes when the ceremony is for a girl.

[821] They wait for the new or the full moon before beginning this ceremony. This time they waited for the new moon. They start just as early as they can. Early in the morning many came to the place where I lived. We had plenty there [431] for them to eat. We had presents for everyone, too—fruit and tobacco and other things. J. B. helped me with this because he wanted the ceremony held. He is a relative on my wife's side. My father-in-law brought some of these things too, and his sisters helped also. My wife's sisters helped with the cooking.

[526] They had a big hoop-and-pole game[5] going there too. P. and others who knew the ceremony well were off playing this game while they waited for the feast that was to follow.

[788] After some prayers T. marked everyone with pollen. He put some on the head and above the nose of both men and women, the way they do at the girl's puberty rite. This was done just before sunup. At sunrise he took the boy and lifted him toward the east, raising him four times. He did the same to the south and the west and the north. Then he set him down.

852 With pollen he made footprints on a piece of white buckskin just as White
788 Painted Women made them in the story of the killing of the monsters. We took
801 the boy. I was holding him on one side, and T. was on the other. We led him
[773] through these footprints. T. said a prayer about Child of the Water and his first step just as the boy took the first step. He said another prayer for the second step and went on until four prayers and four steps were over. Then the boy took four steps by himself. As he did so, they said, "May he have good fortune." Now we turned the boy clockwise and brought him back, and he walked the four steps in the same way again. Four times we walked him like this. Then we

[4] Actually the rite can be obtained through other sources as well.

[5] For a description of the game see pp. 448–50.

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took him in a clockwise circle four times. After four prayers, T. sang four songs. Then we sat down.

Next T., and after him all the others, marked that little boy just as the girl is marked in the puberty rite. After that, T. prayed, took a drum, beat it four times, and started to sing. All those who knew his songs helped with the singing. Four songs were sung before he stopped. They were about Life Giver [another name for Yusn], White Painted Woman, and Child of the Water, of how the earth was made and how the fruit grew, of how Child of the Water was born and reared under the fire and how the monsters were killed.

Now prayers were said by D., and another set of songs began. The people were dancing in there, women and men, boys and girls. They danced in place. The women uttered that call of applause[6] when the names of Child of the Water and White Painted Woman were mentioned.

There were two more sets of prayers and songs. D. said the prayers. They had me sit in the center with the boy, and they all danced around us. The boy was not bashful. He danced up and down and looked around. He was only about a year and nine months old.

D. and T. said the last set of four prayers. When the people playing the hoop-and-pole game heard about this, they all came up, for they knew we had presents there to give and that the end of the ceremony was near.

D. picked up the moccasins. He put pollen on them and lifted them to the directions. He put pollen on the boy's foot and put the right moccasin on first, then the left. "Now you can run," he said. The boy put his foot right in; he was glad to do it. Everyone said, "He's just like his father."

Finally the presents were blessed. D. and T. put pollen all over the baskets of fruit and presents, and a man began passing out these things to the people. He gave some to D. and T. first. He gave them tobacco. Then sweets were passed to the children. Then other gifts were distributed. After this was over, the big meal began. They feasted that day. That night T. lifted the boy up to the moon from the four directions so that he would grow tall.

SPRING HAIR-CUTTING CEREMONY

The spring, usually the spring following the first-moccasins ceremony, "when everything is starting to grow and the grass is coming up," is chosen as the appropriate time for a brief hair-cutting rite. The child is brought to a shaman who "knows" supernatural power useful in safeguarding and training children. The man or woman selected must have thick hair. "If a man performs this ceremony and the child grows up to be a fine one, other parents come to him."

[6] A high-pitched call of the woman, signifying reverent or ceremonial applause.

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a big meal. Generally, she would serve the visitor first, even if the visitor was a woman. After the visitors had gone, the man might get after his wife and ask her, "Why should you feed those people first? Why didn't you feed me first?"

If a visitor happens to hear of this, he will say, "I'm sorry I went over there. I didn't know that man was like that. I won't go over there any more."

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The child must early be made sensible of certain dangers and must learn to be quiet at a command. Enemies often lurk perilously near, and the encampments may suffer severe loss before help can be summoned. Often a child's first memories have to do with threats concerning a dread and shadowy being who preys upon noisy or disobedient children. "The word *gode* is enough. They don't try to describe him. The children become afraid of the word."

861 [865] [776]

Another sound which the child learns to respect is the call of the poorwill. This bird is known by the same name as the masked dancers, for it is thought that the call of the poorwill resembles the traditional call of the dancer as he approaches and "worships" the fire.

861 535 825

When I was a boy, there was a bird that sang only at night. We were told that its song was the voice of the clown of the masked dancers who took bad children. We were pretty quiet and well behaved when we heard that song at night. I realize now that the song is pretty, but when I was a child it frightened me and I disliked it.

This masked-dancer clown, or Gray One, is one of the terrors of childhood. "The clown is going to put you in a basket and carry you off somewhere. Say this to a little child and he is going to mind right away."

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The threat of the clown is maintained as long as possible to keep the children out of the way of prowling enemies and predatory animals. When warnings of the clown's arrival lose their efficacy, Gray One himself may "appear."

Suppose now that children are playing out there and won't mind at all. All right! The parents will say, "Let's scare those children."

They go way around through the woods somewhere. Maybe a big fat man goes out there with them, and they put white paint on him. They make him look like the clown. Well, he goes over to the other side of the place where those children are playing in the brush. He takes a little switch or a stick along with him. Then, when he is about twenty yeards away, he shows his face, and one of

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taken by the raconteur to point the moral. Such instruction is not always taken in good spirits. "My father told me many stories, but sometimes I got very sleepy. Sometimes I got contrary and wanted to go to bed," an informant admitted. Usually, however, the children look forward to these evenings and often beg a grandparent to arrange one.

The most important story a child hears at this time is that of the birth of the culture hero and his victorious encounters with the monsters. Familiarity with this account is a necessary background for much ritual. Parts of the story are dramatized in the girl's puberty rite. Ceremonial songs and many ritual touches refer to the protagonists of this legend. Grama grass, for example, appears in ceremonial contexts because Child of the Water used it for an arrow in his encounter with Giant, one of the monsters. Other stories of the culture hero and his mother further acquaint the child with their holiness and the great respect he owes them.

Scarcely less important is the set of stories devoted to the Mountain People, supernaturals inhabiting the interiors of sacred mountains. These Mountain People, who are impersonated by the masked dancers, are described in the legends as potential sources of supernatural power and as protectors of the tribal territory.

Most appreciated by the young people, however, is the Coyote cycle, a series of episodes of the pranks of the trickster. Coyote violates all the social and sexual conventions of the society, and this permits the narrator to contrast "Coyote's way" with more approved conduct. Coyote stories "make a child sleepy," and so it is often necessary to tickle his nose or tap him lightly on the head in order to keep him awake. Through the Coyote tales the child gets some hint of the imperfectibility of man and of the inevitability of moral turpitude in the world: "Coyote stories are used as a lesson. And they still blame Coyote today for the foolish things humans do."

Other tales serve to imbue the child with the proper attitudes toward baneful or helpful animal life, toward supernaturals, and toward neighboring peoples.

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869 The child's first religious instruction centers about reverence for the principal supernaturals and emphasizes the virtues of humility and gratitude. "At our own camps, when a child is old enough to understand his parents, they begin to teach him to be religious, to use religious words, and to know Life Giver, Child of the Water, and White Painted Woman."

773 The child soon comes to sense that specific favors are the result of the activity of other powers. There are no stories to record
869 the deeds of Life Giver, but there are numerous tales to explain the part of other supernaturals in origins and possessions. For instance, according to tradition, daylight was acquired as a result of the moccasin or hidden-ball game played between the birds and the four-footed animals. Even the origin of man is not attributed to the nominal creator in the myths; what hints there are (and these creation elements may be of European origin) seem to credit Child of the Water with the act.

869 The child is given very little in the way of a formalized conception of the universe:

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82 If we aren't shamans or have no supernatural power, we have no basis to stand on in saying how far from us the clouds are or how far away the sun is. A person like myself will tell you that rain comes from the clouds, because I have no vision about it. But others will say their power causes it. I don't know just where to begin or what to believe.

In other words, one person claims to know more than another concerning those aspects of nature which his personal power touches, but, since no adult should presume to conviction about the prerogatives of his fellows, the child hears no unified philosphy of nature.

869
855 THE DANGERS OF CHILDHOOD

[776] With age the individual becomes "toughened" against the assaults of malevolent forces; but the child is almost defenseless before them. While adults ordinarily have protective ceremonies and guardian spirits to warn them of danger, children are less shielded in this way. Because of his precarious position, the child is constantly guarded by minor rituals and devices. From these he gains his first impressions of the forces opposed to his welfare and of the ceremonial usages that benefit him.

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or they would see it. She would make a buckskin string with two pieces of turquoise tied to it and give it to anyone who was afraid of the snake. That one had to wear it on the right foot below the ankle.

It is quite as important that the child understand the ways of the cloud-dwelling Thunder People whose arrows are chipped flints found throughout Chiricahua country. The children are directed to make a respectful spitting noise when the lightning flashes and to refrain from eating during a storm. Sage is pointed out as a protective plant which may be worn in the hair during a storm. Nothing red should be displayed at such a time, they are told, for red is associated with the lightning flash and may draw it.

While the child is very young, adults take the proper steps to protect him from danger. But, as he grows old enough to understand ideas and to react consistently to them, more responsibility for his own safety is transferred to him. Thus, quite small children not only depend upon the amulets provided for them but pick and wear the sage which wards off the lightning, dispose of a loose tooth, and extend due respect to masked dancers. Advice and guidance are freely given, but the response which constitutes growth and fulfilment is, as far as possible, elicited from the child himself. The prevailing theme in things nonritual as well as ritual is that the youngster must learn to do for himself tomorrow what is done for him today.

Since most ceremonies are curative rites and are of frequent occurrence, it is almost inevitable that, while the child is still very young, he will witness a full-length ceremony. Very often the first shamanistic performance a child remembers is one in which he was the patient:

> At this time, when I was about six years old, I saw the first ceremony I can remember. It was given for me. I don't know what was the matter with me, but at that time I was very slim and underweight, and it may have been for a general run-down condition. I know I was taken to the shaman's house. I was lying on a bed in the middle of the room. My grandmother was there. My mother, but not my father, was there. My father couldn't be there because my mother's mother was present. Other people whom I did not know were sitting around. The man who was curing me sang. Later on I was told that he had forbidden me to eat the head and liver of any animal. Whenever they had liver after that, they had something else for me. At big gatherings where there was head, I would not eat any of it.

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755 He opened my shirt. He put that feather right here on my chest, just touched me lightly with it. I could feel it; it was sticking right on my chest. How he did it my mother never knew; I never knew; but he knew.

I must have been blind two or three months. Then about the fourth month I was just beginning to get my sight back. Then I recovered.

A third account is that of a ceremony presided over by Geronimo, the well-known leader, and attended by the informant as a young child:

[753] [825] The first ceremony by Geronimo I saw was one for an older man. Some coyote or dog had made him sick.[7] One boy got hold of the news that the ceremony was going to be held, and we learned of it through him. We asked Geronimo if we could attend. He said it would be all right but told us we could not scratch ourselves or make any noise.

The ceremony began in the evening, as soon as it became dark. It took place in an arbor outside Geronimo's home. There was a fire. Geronimo and the patient were on the west side of the fire. Geronimo sat facing the east, and the patient lay stretched out before him. Some older people were there. They were mostly relatives of the sick man. But it would have been all right for anyone to come in and watch. We sat in circular fashion in the back of the shelter. But the space to the east was left open, as always happens at a ceremony.

Geronimo had an old black tray basket before him filled with the things he used for the ceremony. He had a downy eagle feather in it and an abalone shell and a bag of pollen. All these things were wrapped up in a bundle before the ceremony began.

[788] [823] He rolled a cigarette and puffed to the directions first of all, beginning with the east, puffing just once to each direction. Then he threw the cigarette away. After smoking, he rubbed the patient with pollen. He dropped pollen on the patient, just on certain parts of the body. He prayed to the directions as he did this. These prayers referred to Coyote and were on the same order as the songs which followed.

[776] [756] [533] He started to sing. There were many songs, and the songs were about Coyote. They told how Coyote was a tricky fellow, hard to see and find, and how he gave these characteristics to Geronimo so that he could make himself invisible and even turn into a doorway. They told how the coyote helped Geronimo in his curing. Geronimo accompanied his singing with a drum which he beat with a curved stick. At the end of each song he gave a call like a coyote.

[805] [775] When the evening star was halfway between the horizon and the zenith, Geronimo stopped singing. This is the Chiricahua midnight. The ceremony lasted four nights. The same prayers, songs, and procedure were gone through for the four nights. I know that Geronimo had ghost power too. That night he

[7] Note the implication that dog and coyote sickness are treated by the same ceremony.

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The girl feels good toward the man who sings for her too. She gives him presents now and then. She has to give the man a horse and saddle at the end of the ceremony. Usually he gets a good buckskin and blankets too. The father of one of the girls who recently went through her ceremony had only one good horse, but he had to give it to the singer. It's that gray one that B. [the singer] rides now. He had to do it according to the Indian way.

For the girl, her relatives, and a few serious-minded individuals the ceremonial aspects of the occasion will be of most significance. But for most of the guests the feasting, the social dancing, and the performance of the masked dancers will be the greatest attractions.

The masked dancers are men dressed and decorated to represent mountain-dwelling supernaturals. The dancers themselves possess no power and no ceremony. But the one who "makes" them, who fashions the masks they wear and paints or directs the painting of their bodies, is a shaman who controls a most important ceremony. The primary purpose of the masked-dancer rite when it is not associated with the celebration for the adolescent girl is to ward off epidemic and evil or to cure illness that has been contracted. When it is so used, its performance is a most serious matter. However, these same masked dancers have become one of the standard sources of entertainment of the girl's puberty rite. Early each evening they appear, and, while they may bless the camp initially, drive away evil, or even perform some cures privately on request, their main function is to engage in several spectacular dances for the noisy approval of the onlookers.

The girl's relatives must secure the co-operation of a masked-dancer shaman:

A month or more before the ceremony the ones who are giving the feast start thinking about the man they are going to get to paint the masked dancers. They say, "Let's ask the old man."

One of them goes to the old man and says, "I'm giving a feast and want you to work for us. I don't want you to refuse." If the old man promises, it is all settled. The relatives of the girl will begin talking to him, perhaps it will be her uncles or aunts.

I've seen it done this way, too. Suppose there are a lot of camps together. A man whose girl is going to have her ceremony would come out and say, "All you people, listen! I'm going to give a feast for all you people. I need your help. I want all you men who know the ceremony of the masked dancers and you men

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The singer will need eagle feathers, a deer- or elk-hoof rattle, and a supply of pollen, white clay, red ocher, and specular iron ore. Required for the ceremony also are a basket tray, usually made from the black outer covering of the unicorn plant; skins on which the girl will kneel or lie during certain parts of the ceremony; and other ritual objects. If the singer or attendant does not have these at hand, the girl's parents must make or procure them.

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The origin of the rite.—White Painted Woman is usually credited with the establishment of the puberty rite. Often associated with her in this undertaking is her son.

It was not until Child of the Water was rid of all the monsters and evil things, until there were many people and the different tribes began to be seen, that the big tepee [girl's puberty rite] was known.

There was a woman who had a daughter who was almost grown. It was time for her to have her first flow. Then Child of the Water and White Painted Woman showed them what to do; this good time was given to the people.

They gave a little feast this first day when she menstruated. Then, after this first day, the relatives of this girl went out and hunted and got everything together so that they could give a big feast. They did this in the fall when there was plenty of fruit and many good things of all kinds. They got a man to sing for her in the tepee. The best masked dancers were got ready. They made them, not in camp, but way off in the mountains and led them in. The spruce trees were cut down for the tepee.

Then, when all was ready, they let many know, and they came from far places. All were invited. The celebration was held for four days. The people had a good time at the dancing. First came the masked dancers. Child of the Water and White Painted Woman gave the people the round dance to enjoy, but this was not to begin until after the performance of the masked dancers was over. After that came the partner dances.

The last two nights the masked dancers remained on the grounds until all the dancing was over. Even the masked dancers took part in the social dancing with their masks pulled to the top of their heads. And the clown was there. The clown, too, danced with women who wished to dance with him. He carried his headdress.

Important incidents of the rite and their respective order are foreshadowed in this narrative. In another account major honors for the establishment of this ritual practice go to White Painted Woman:

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White Painted Woman said, "From here on we will have the girl's puberty rite. When the girls first menstruate, you shall have a feast. There shall be songs for these girls. During this feast the masked dancers shall dance in front. After that there shall be round dancing and face-to-face dancing."

Other information, however, emphasizes the importance of the culture hero for this ceremony. "They do this ceremony according to the way Child of the Water directed them," said one spokesman; and another asserted that the culture hero "is the founder of this whole thing."

The pubescent girl herself is identified with White Painted Woman. During the four days and nights of the rite and for four days thereafter the girl must be addressed and referred to only as White Painted Woman. Her dress and decoration are meant to duplicate the costume which the benefactress of the tribe wore during her stay on earth. The very name, White Painted Woman, is symbolic of the body paint with which its first bearer was designed. At one point in the ritual the initiate is painted with white clay so that the promise of her name may be actualized. Throughout the songs and the prayers the girl is likened to her divine namesake; the structure that has been erected is described as "the home of White Painted Woman"; and, as an informant has put it, "the young girl is the image of the real one." This may explain the control over the weather and the curative functions of the adolescent at this period.

The "little" rite.—The physiological fact of first menstruation is cause for great rejoicing on the part of the family of the girl and is so important that reference is made to it by a different term from the one which means "regular monthly flow." Even though all is not in readiness for the prolonged ritual and celebration, the family and close neighbors gather for a feast and token ceremony, to be followed at a later date by the complete round of ritual.

They had a little ceremony for E. It was held at her parents' place. Quite a few people came down. There was a feast and social dancing. The girl was called White Painted Woman for the day of the little ceremony. The ceremony for the girl, who is about fourteen years old, came about noon. She was dressed in an uncolored buckskin costume without much design on it. I don't think it is finished yet. Mrs. S. acted as "she who trots them off" [the attendant] for her. W. sang.

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are held erect, an assistant shakes an animal-hoof rattle,[2] and the singer begins his first chant. These opening songs are known as "dwelling songs." The first song "is about all the four poles. It is about the black horse, the stallion, the four horses, because in this ceremony a horse is given on the last day." Much of the vocalization is meaningless refrain, for the substance of ritual songs and prayers is largely implicit. But the prayer portion can be translated:

> Killer of Enemies[3] and White Painted Woman have made them so,
> They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
> For long life stands the blue stallion.
>
> Here Killer of Enemies and White Painted Woman have made them so,
> They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
> For long life stands the yellow stallion.
>
> Here Killer of Enemies and White Painted Woman have made them so,
> They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
> For long life stands the black stallion.
>
> Here Killer of Enemies and White Painted Woman have made them so,
> They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
> For long life stands the white stallion.

From the structure to the south, where she is caring for her charge, the attendant cries out in reverent applause when the names of the supernaturals are mentioned. Throughout the rite, whenever reference is made in the songs to Killer of Enemies,

[2] From one informant, a Southern Chiricahua man, comes an assertion that a gourd rattle may be used in the girl's puberty rite in substitution for an animal-hoof rattle. He said: "A gourd rattle as well as the deer-hoof rattle can be used when the ceremonial tepee is being put up. This is the only time it is used; just the tepee singer has it. There are four small holes on each side of it. That is what makes the sound perfect. It has no design." All other informants state that only the animal-hoof rattle, made of four or more hoofs, usually tied to a length of wood, is used.

[3] For most of the Apache people of the Southwest, Killer of Enemies is the culture hero, and Child of the Water is a subordinate brother or companion. The Chiricahua have reversed the positions of these two; indeed, some Chiricahua have eliminated Killer of Enemies altogether and claim that the name is a synonym for Child of the Water. The older heritage persists, however, in the songs of the girl's puberty rite, which mention only Killer of Enemies. The Chiricahua simply accept these references as concerned with Child of the Water.

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881 535 *The masked dancers.*—As the sun starts to go down, the painting and the dressing of the masked dancers begin. The men who have agreed to dance make their way to a brush shelter erected quite a distance from the ceremonial grounds, for it would be dangerous to the people, and especially to the women and children, to have them "made" in the vicinity of the camps. Since [776] the dancers are impersonating mountain-dwelling supernaturals, a place in the foothills surrounding the level dance ground is most likely to be chosen. There the masked-dancer shaman waits [754] with dancing costumes and paints. The shaman rarely paints [534] the dancers but directs his helpers and prays and sings, accom- [531] panying himself with a buckskin-covered pottery drum. Upon [789] this he draws figures, such as that of the sun, in pollen "to keep [826] his voice from becoming hoarse."

535 The shaman may have some difficulty in assembling a dance group, for the supernatural impersonator must obey irksome restrictions:

> You shouldn't wash the paint off. It sweats off while you are dancing and when you put your shirt on. It is just clay and charcoal. Perhaps the second night there will be just a faint mark left from the paint of the night before. When the next paint goes on fresh, you can't tell that there was any paint on [821] there before. If you do have to get some off, you rub it but do not wash it off, for if you wash, it will cause a big rain to come.

535 784 753 Mistakes during the dance are most dangerous:

> Not many men want to dance; it can cause evil influence. They fear to get into this costume just as they fear a coyote. If the dancer makes a mistake and doesn't do things according to the ceremony, he will get sick. It is dangerous for one dancer to touch another who has been made by a different shaman. The power of one masked-dancer maker may be stronger than that of the other and cause some disaster to a dancer. It sometimes causes a spasm [paralysis] in the mouth, or trouble with the ear or eye, or a swollen face. Then the only way is to [755] go through a ceremony and have the masked dancers blow the sickness away.

The dancer must be quite as particular about other points. If he should place the mask over his head without the proper ritual gestures, he is likely to go mad. He must show proper reverence as well:

> One time I was dancing for D. Three of us were dancing—S., T., and I. It was S.'s first time. He was speaking in English, cursing while they were painting him. You know he is just like a mocking bird; he doesn't respect anything.

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want to. While you are out there, you can take up the mask and smoke cigarettes. It's all right. You are just entertaining the people. You don't have to keep away from women during the four nights of the dancing either. 535 [834]

There is great rivalry for the leadership of the masked-dancer groups: 535 578

I was dancing for T. once. E. was going to lead. I was going to be second in line. While we were being painted, E. said, "Watch me. I'm the leader, and the leader is supposed to be the best dancer." I just laughed.

They finished painting us, and T. said, "All right, go ahead." It was dusk by this time. We were late, for the fellows had been late in getting there. We could see the big fire over at the feast grounds. So E. started off. His mask was down over his face. He must have been blinded by the fire, for before you know it he went off the bank and into an arroyo! You could hear him go down, and then he was down there grunting. I had thought he was going wrong. I had the front of my mask pulled up. I knew how to wear it and could pull it up and still have it stay on.

I just laughed and laughed when he went down. I said, "Hey, leader, I can't follow you there." T. went down and got him. He was skinned and the horns of his headdress were broken. T. said, "You fellows go on and dance," and so we went on.

The next day I saw him standing there holding one arm. The news got around, and the people were laughing and calling, "A masked dancer fell in the arroyo! A masked dancer fell in the arroyo!" [522]

Accomplished dancers, in spite of the strenuous nature of the task, are reluctant to withdraw even when they grow old. "E. still dances. They have to pull his skin smooth to put the paint on. It is the same with H.; they have to stretch his skin. But they don't want to give it up." 535 [887]

If a dancer wishes to become a ceremonialist of this rite, his experience as an impersonator "makes it easier for him to learn." One prominent masked-dancer shaman, describing how readily he had mastered the details of his calling, said: "I learned so fast because I had been a dancer right along." [756]

While the masked dancers just described are being painted, another type of impersonator, the clown ("Gray One," "Long Nose," or "White Painted"), is being prepared also: 535 522 [776]

He wears a mask of scraped rawhide. Sometimes they make it with a big nose or big ears. He wears only moccasins and a gee string. The rest of his body is bare and covered with white paint. They say that it is good to be a clown before you dance as a masked dancer. Then you get used to the dances.

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headdress have been made with the big star. Against these diseases I use the [782]
sound of the Mountain Spirit rattling his headdress as he dances to the fire. By [756]
means of it I walk the earth. It drives all evil away. With it I perform this ceremony. With this I walk. That is all.

"They always start to paint the leader first. It doesn't matter 535
who is finished first though." Helpers apply the paint with sticks 302
which have been pounded, softened, and sometimes turned back [413]
at the end. Even the finger is used if the work has to proceed
quickly. The helper, who has seen the masked dancers of this 535
shaman perform many times and may have acted as dancer for the 302
shaman himself, is usually familiar with the designs. What in- 756
formation he lacks is supplied by the shaman. Often masked
dancers assist in painting each other.

Anyone can help the shaman paint the dancers. The shaman sits there and tells them what to do. Sometimes he paints too. When he has several men around, he will have everybody working on them. He will be singing and praying while they do it. I've never asked about this part. They start painting in the late afternoon. It takes some fellows longer than others. It doesn't make any difference whose masked dancers are first on the grounds below.

I painted masked dancers once. I was already painted myself and ready to go out. They were a little behind. I just went over and put the marks on one of the fellows to help out. I went ahead and did it while the shaman was there singing.

During the painting the shaman sings, beating a pottery drum 535
with a curved drumstick. Should these songs not be sung in the 302
right way, "the masked dancer would fall down like a man 533
knocked out by a blow if he should touch another masked dancer 756
down on the grounds." According to one masked-dancer sha- [534]
man, his songs "call on the Mountain Spirits to give the dancers
endurance," and so his dancers are able to "stay in there a long
time."

These songs which accompany the painting of the dancers are 535
sung as memory and convenience dictate. The allusions in them 533
are to the themes associated with the ceremony, to the "holy [302]
home" where the ritual was learned from the resident Moun- [787]
tain Spirits, to the sounds made by the pendants of the head- [776]
dress and kilt as the dancers trot to the fire, to the cardinal [823]
directions from which the Mountain Spirits guard the Chiricahua
against all sickness and danger. The prayer or softly and quickly [782]

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535 532 825 [823] On the mask, at the forehead or nose region, may be suspended a piece of abalone shell or turquoise. One shaman employs the shell "because abalone has strength, and the masked dancers should have the same strength as the abalone."

535 532 [824] [322] At its top the hood is attached to the horns[8] or uprights by spreading prongs of a piece of oak which has been split, soaked in water, and heated until it could be worked. At its upper end this piece is connected to the yucca or sotol frame which rises above it. A bunch of turkey feathers or some green juniper is tied at the point of union. The superstructure of wooden slats looks like a great, squarish candelabra balanced on the top of the dancer's head. It is essentially a horizontal bar to which vertical pieces approximately two feet high have been attached at the two ends and in the middle. From each end of the horizontal support hang two or four short lengths of wood called "earrings." These strike against one another, making a sound that has become a symbol for the approach of the dancers. From the tops of the vertical pieces float downy eagle feathers. The colors of the [822] uprights are black, yellow, and green (blue);[9] red "would be used [754] only by a witch on a masked dancer horn."

535 [756] The shaman, drum in hand, may accompany his dancers to the edge of the clearing. Then, often, he will join the group of men who have gathered at the north of the ceremonial structure to sing for the masked dancers.

535 755 But the entrance of the dancers may be delayed still further, for they are often called upon at this time to cure. Yet the fiction of their purely social function at the puberty rite is maintained by having what serious ritual they attempt remain a private matter, unguided by the sponsors of the ceremony:

[796] [825] [8] That the headdress should be called "horns" is of special interest, in the light of the fact that Mountain Spirits are associated with the protection and guardianship of game animals, the most important of which have horns.

[386] [9] Juice of the yucca leaf is mixed with charcoal, yellow ocher or a decoction from algerita root, and soft turquoise to obtain these colors. The addition of the yucca juice makes the difference between the impermanent paint used on the bodies of the dancers and the fixed color with which the headdress and sticks are painted. Green and blue are not terminologically differentiated.

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881 arena. Sounding their call, they burst into the open space from
535 the east at a trot and circle the fire. They are greeted by the cry of the women and the prayers of the devout.

> . . . . They would come down at night carrying a big light. . . . . When they first came down the hill, even if the camp were a large one, they used to go around to each home and not miss a single one. Just as soon as the people saw them coming they began to pray. . . . . "Men of the Mountain,"[11] they would say, "I wish you would protect me. If anything comes to hurt me, stand in front of me and help me."

881 First the dance group "worships the fire" from the directions:
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> This is what the old man told me when I was the leader of his dancers. "The first time you come in and go to the fire, go around it four times. Then approach it from the east. When you get within about eight paces of the fire, just when the light begins to shine on you, sound the masked-dancer call. Then go around the fire once. Stop at the south, go toward the fire, sway and make the call in the same way. Do the same from the west and the north. Next come back where you started from, the east, and worship the fire again from there."

881 Sometimes the ceremonial structure is circled and "blessed,"
535 each pole being approached in clockwise rotation by the single
[346] file of dancers and clasped by the leader. Then the dancers trot off to the east and vanish in the darkness. On their way through the camps they may dance back and forth before a dwelling
[755] where there has been sickness or trouble. The entire encampment may be circled, and sickness frightened away by gesticulation and blowing.

881 With the arrival of the dancers, the restrictions applicable to
535 the onlookers come into force. No one may address or call the
784 name of an impersonator whom he recognizes; no one may point, with hand or lips, to a masked dancer; nor may anyone touch a dancer when he is in costume. "If you don't worship them in the
[796] right way, you should be frightened." However, neither men nor women confuse the impersonators with the actual Mountain Spirits. "The dancers do not turn into the real Mountain Spirits while they are dancing. They stay men but just get more strength." The restrictions are obeyed, not from fear of the

[11] A term for Mountain Spirits indicating greatest respect and used when supplicating these supernaturals or when there is reason to fear them.

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power of those dancing, but because "the real Mountain Spirits could bring on sickness or death if these things were violated."

The added strength of the masked dancers is attributed to the costumes they wear:

The costume gives the dancer strength. He doesn't get tired. There are no holes near the nose for breathing in the masks. The man wearing the mask is fighting for breath. When he gets tired, he runs his sticks around his body and then flourishes them in the air, and in this way he rids himself of his tiredness. If it was not for this, he couldn't last through one song.

When the masked dancers return, a knot of men assembled just northeast of the entrance of the ceremonial structure is ready to beat out the measure of the songs with stout sticks on a thick piece of rawhide. Others hold buckskin-covered pottery drums which they will strike with curved drumsticks.

From the east the masked dancers spring into the glare of the firelight and move swiftly around the fire:

When the leader of the masked dancers throws his arms wide, this means to the singers that they are to begn. The men at the rawhide know that this is the signal. If they don't start to sing, the dancers go past them, then turn toward them and repeat the gesture. If they don't start then, the dancers can leave the grounds if they want to. Many times I have done that. I figured, "Well, I'm not going to let them just watch me! It's no use to run around here without any song." Sometimes, as you come toward the rawhide after blessing the fire, they start right in. Then, as you go past, you cry, "Hoo-hoo-hoo!" which is just like saying, "That's fine! That's what we want!" The masked dancers can't talk but they make that sound. It means, "Go ahead and sing." I was told to make the masked-dancer call when turquoise, abalone, cloud, Mountain Spirit, White Painted Woman, and other holy things and people were mentioned in the songs.

The songs to which the dancers perform at the feast grounds are not the same as those to which they were painted but are associated with definite dance steps. The shaman may know and use both kinds of songs, but just as often another person will lead the singing during the evening. The relatives of the adolescent girl have to make sure that some qualified person will be present to perform this function.

I am an official singer for masked dancers. The parents of the girl will ask me to sing at their feast. They pay me. I will be singing for one family. I learned these songs. I sat in and gained experience. No one else would sing my songs. It's not done.

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COSMOLOGY AND SUPERNATURALS

Ritual, poetry, and prayer often refer to the time "when the earth was new" or "when the earth was created," yet there is no tale that describes the event. Parents, in talking with their children, credit Life Giver with the creation of the universe, but they offer no details and expect that faith in this deity will be later supplemented by interest in some more concrete manifestation of supernatural power.

Ideas concerning the relations of the earth, the heavenly bodies, and the forces of nature are often associated with personal supernatural power or with folk beliefs:

We did not discuss whether the world was round or flat. The old people used to say that the sun is as large as a mountain. I think that the sun and moon are in fixed position and that the heavens move. There are men who get power from the sun. They have songs and prayers directed toward the sun. It is thought that the sun goes into the sky at an eclipse. The moon does this too.

During the summer rainy season the sun has a moccasin string made of rotten material, and it breaks and breaks. The constant rain makes it rotten. That is why we have a long day; he cannot move fast. But during the winter the sun uses yucca fiber for a moccasin string and goes pretty fast, for he does not have to pause much to bother with his moccasins.

The moon is as big as the sun. Darkness interferes with the moon; therefore, we do not get so much light from the moon. The stars are thought to be pretty big too, as big as the moon or sun but set back farther. We notice that some are fixed and some travel, but we do not distinguish the two kinds by name.

A sun shaman would know all about the sun. But I'm no authority. I can only tell you what I've heard. I don't think that what I know amounts to much. I know that different men are telling stories in different ways. They may say that what I say isn't so. That's why I don't want to go into details.

Consultations with other members of the tribe revealed some disagreements in details but left a similar impression of the unorganized state of the cosmology.

Feminine qualities are attributed to the earth, and one informant definitely stated, "The earth is thought of as a woman." Moreover, in all ceremonial contexts the earth is called by a term that is said to mean "Earth Woman."[4] But, except to a few

[4] Dr. Hoijer claims that he cannot analyze the word to give this meaning literally and says that it is an instance of folk etymology.

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shamans who obtain supernatural power from our planet, the earth is not personified, nor does it appear as a supernatural in the myths.

What attention is given to the sun, stars, and constellations by those who do not claim supernatural power from them is for the practical purpose of computing the passage of time and the change of seasons.

Much more determinate is the place of thunder (or lightning):

This is what I have heard about the lightning and thunder. I don't know what kind of people they are, but they are people. My parents and even older people used to tell me that they were just like humans in appearance. Some of them are good people and some are bad, just as people are here on earth. A good thunderstorm passes over with a good time for all. It does no harm; no one gets struck. But the bad ones go along hitting people, knocking down trees and destroying things. They say that the homes of these people are in the clouds. Thunder People is what they call them.

Lightning is the arrow of the Thunder People. I hear ceremonial songs, and in them they mention the "arrows of lightning." Not in my father's time or my grandfather's time did the Chiricahua make arrowheads of flint that were good to kill anything with. The flints they used are found around and are called "lightning's arrow" or "thunder's arrow." Some people say that they were made by men, but some Chiricahua say that flints like these are shot during a thunderstorm by the Thunder People.

. . . . They are persons [illegible] can get power from them. They have children; they are just like regular people. Any of them can cause you to be struck by lightning. . . . . The Thunder People send lightning to punish some. Or, if someone did something bad to a man who "knew" Thunder, he could send lightning to avenge himself.

The flash is the flight of the "arrow," and the noise is the shouting of the real person, the one who is back of lightning and thunder.

At one time, runs a tale, the Thunder People acted as hunters for humans and with their arrows killed all the game the tribe could use. Ingratitude moved them to withdraw their support. It is important to court no risk of offending these well-armed inhabitants of the sky:

During a thunderstorm we go, "*pi3, pi3,*" in imitation of the bird called *pi3e* [nighthawk]. This bird, a speckled one, flies around on cloudy days near evening. It swoops and darts around so fast that it is hard even for lightning to hit it. Therefore, we use its call. It is just like making believe that we are that bird during the lightning, and then it is hard for it to hit us too.

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821 789 539 Another thing to do when the lightning flashes is to make a spitting noise and say, "Let it be well, my brother, Lightning," or to say, "Strike high, my brother." Thunder you call grandfather when it hits close. When lightning is very close and sounds just as if it is going to tear up the ground, you say:

"Continue in a good way;
Be kind as you go through;
Do not frighten these poor people;
My grandfather, let it be well;
Don't frighten us poor people."

753 Sickness induced by or through Thunder is frequent, and special practices and curative rites have grown up to cope with such disorders.

773 776 821 823 Through the mythology an association is established between water and lightning. In most versions of the birth of the culture hero, his mother is impregnated by Water, but in one variant Lightning strikes at the divine woman four times and thus causes her to conceive Child of the Water. Another version, after describing the impregnation by Water, relates that Lightning tests the hero, discovers him to be his son, and later helps him conquer a giant.

Another myth tells of a quarrel between Thunder and Wind concerning their respective abilities. They separate, to the great detriment of the earth. Finally a meeting is arranged, and, with Sun as mediator, they agree to labor together once more. As an aftermath:

The breathing of the thunder created four persons, and these were sent out in the four directions, and they were told that, whenever the earth trembles, they should come to the center. Lightning and Wind used their power to make the earth as it was before, with green grass and the proper amount of water.

773 776 825 The existence of the earth, the heavenly bodies, and natural forces sets the stage for the appearance of the animals of the mythological period. These animals look and talk like men. Coyote, usually a trickster with few redeeming qualities, turns benefactor for a short interval by stealing fire from those who have hoarded it and spreads it throughout the world. But, by opening a bag which he has been told to leave untouched, Coyote looses darkness. This is acceptable only to the night prowlers and fierce animals; the birds and the small harmless creatures

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desire daylight. The moccasin game—a game of the hidden-ball variety—is arranged to determine whether day shall come; the victors are to dispatch the vanquished. The side of the birds wins, and the horizon to the east brightens. A few of the losers escape—the snake, the owl, and the bear—and these are still considered dangerous creatures.

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During this epoch Coyote makes death inevitable for mankind by throwing a stone into the water and declaring that, if it sinks, living beings shall ultimately die. Coyote's behavior during this prehuman horizon creates a "path" that man has been obliged to follow. All that man does "Coyote did first." Gluttony, lying, theft, adultery, incest, and all the other faults and foibles were introduced by Coyote and have become inescapable for those who "follow Coyote's trail."

Next are introduced White Painted Woman, Child of the Water, and Killer of Enemies. White Painted Woman has existed from the beginning. Killer of Enemies' place in the time sequence is less certain; he is variously described as a brother of White Painted Woman, an older son, a twin brother of Child of the Water, and even, in one variant, as the husband of White Painted Woman-and therefore the stepfather of the culture hero. In the most representative versions he appears as an older brother of Child of the Water, already grown when the culture hero is born.

During this period White Painted Woman and Killer of Enemies share the earth with human beings and with monsters who prey upon the human beings and prevent them from thriving. One of them, a giant, carries his depredations to White Painted Woman herself and consumes a number of children she attempts to rear. Finally she is impregnated by Water and gives birth to Child of the Water, who is protected from Giant by being hidden under the earth and by other stratagems. Child of the Water grows with miraculous speed, and soon the brothers are prepared to hunt together. On the hunt they encounter Giant, and Child of the Water slays his colossal foe. This is the first adventure of a series during which he destroys the other monsters: the giant eagles, the dangerous buffalo bull, and the antelope which can

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kill with its glance. Child of the Water forces those he conquers to agree to be of use to man henceforth. From the feathers of the monster eagle he creates the birds which exist today. Once the survival of mankind is guaranteed, the supernaturals prepare to leave for sky homes. But first White Painted Woman and Child of the Water instruct the Chiricahua in the girl's puberty rite, and Killer of Enemies frees the game animals from an underground "animal home" in which they have been kept by Crow.

As a result of Christian influence and white contact, certain accretions to this world-view have taken place. One of these is a story of a flood. This theme has been incompletely synchronized with other mythological events. Some informants place it before the moccasin game and the existence of human beings; others say it occurred after the creation of man. Some are inclined to omit it altogether.

The tale of the creation of man is another episode which seems to have been recently added. In keeping with the feeling that actual deeds are to be attributed to the culture hero rather than to Life Giver, it is said that Child of the Water shaped people from mud or produced them from a cloud. Giving this supernatural the role of creator imposes its difficulties, however, for in the most stable portions of the mythology he is said to have been brought forth to rid the earth of the monsters which were harrying mankind. Consequently, the creation story rarely becomes an integral part of the account of the exploits of the culture hero.

According to one tale, Child of the Water creates the white man at the same time as the Indian. In the division of the goods of the earth, Child of the Water chooses for the Indian (the Chiricahua), and Killer of Enemies for the white man—the former selecting the bow and arrow, the forested mountains, and the wild foods; the latter choosing mineral-rich lands, the gun, and agricultural food staples. In keeping with this pattern of Indian-white representation, Killer of Enemies is uniformly considered the less heroic of the two brothers and is actually described as craven on occasion.

Missionary teachings concerning the importance of the Bible have been registered in the folklore too. A man, sometimes named Herus (perhaps a corruption, through the Spanish, of

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Jesus), comes into possession of a book. Its loss will result in the captivity and misfortune of his people. At his death the book is burned, according to custom, with the rest of his possessions, and the dire results foretold come to pass. Stories of this man and of another who followed him and had a like adventure (Kantaneiro)[5] have a distinctly biblical flavor.

There are two other sets of supernaturals—the Mountain People and the Water Beings. The Mountain People are of more importance than any supernaturals so far mentioned, with the possible exception of Child of the Water and White Painted Woman. They are not mentioned in the stories of the period when the animals spoke like people but appear in a separate series.

There are people in the mountains who are just like us. They are not masked dancers, but they make masked dancers just as we do here. Those they make can take off their masked-dancer costumes and dress as we do. We hear the people drum in there and we hear the masked-dancer performance too. We hear words in there when we listen at cliffs or mountains, but we can't see the people. We call all these people in there Mountain People. They live in these mountains and have many children. There are girls, boys, women, and old men there. The real masked dancers are the masked dancers of these people.[6]

Two kinds of Water Beings are mentioned. One, a beneficent supernatural, is called Controller of Water:

He is some man, not of this earth. He is the one who controls the water. I hear of him in the songs, the ceremonial songs. In those songs and in prayers they talk of Water Controller who sits at the water gate and stops the water. They hold up their hands and sing, "Controller of Water, please give us a little water." He lives up above somewhere. He is only mentioned in the ceremonies that belong to different people. Some sing that his shirt is of clouds of different colors. Some say that he wears a shirt of abalone.

He holds the rain. He lets it loose or shuts it off. You sing to him if you know his song. If people believe and learn his song, they can get rain.

[5] In 1909 M. R. Harrington, who was gathering specimens from Chiricahua Indians in Oklahoma for the museum expedition supported by Mr. George G. Heye, obtained a story which associated Kantaneiro with the Mountain Spirits (see M. R. Harrington, "The Devil Dance of the Apaches," *Museum Journal* [Philadelphia], March, 1912, pp. 6–9).

[6] The name "Mountain People" will be used to refer to the total population of mountain-dwelling supernaturals; the term "Mountain Spirits," to those of the Mountain People who act as dancers. It is the Mountain Spirits who are impersonated by the masked dancers of the Chiricahua.

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776 More feared is Water Monster, who sometimes appears in human form and sometimes as a large serpent. He is responsible for drownings, and "when anything disappears at the water, they suspect Water Monster." "He is a swallowing monster. He would just swallow people up, and they'd disappear. There is a spring near here where they say there is a Water Monster. At Whitetail there is a spring like this. Even horses go there and never come out."

THE SHAMAN AND POWER

756 554 *The personnel of shamanism.*—In the great enterprise of traffic with the supernatural there is no hierarchy of religious leadership:

There were not a few shamans. Supernatural power is something that every Chiricahua can share. Most of the people have some sort of ceremony, little or big.

Shamans aren't ranked: each person knows a different thing, so no one is better than another. If you have the ceremony for a certain thing, you have it; that's all. If a shaman can't help you, he just can't cure you, and you get someone else.

[789] One thing, like the power to make someone run fast, is enough to make you a shaman. The possession of any ceremony makes a person a shaman. A little rite makes you a shaman just as much as a long elaborate one.

Yet individuals whose cures are consistently spectacular and whose prophecies are often verified do achieve more than average renown:

Those well known for their ceremonial work were usually pretty well off. They depended on ceremony for a livelihood to some extent, but they went along on hunts and did all the work that the others performed too. When men came [431] back from raids with booty, they were given many gifts. People went out of their way to help them.

756 726 554 At a time of strife the shaman whose ceremony pertains to the thwarting of the enemy may gain markedly in prestige:

The shaman whose work has to do with war had a strong part in politics and could rise to a position of power. But ordinarily a man with another ceremony is just like anyone else. Geronimo got political power from the religious side. He foresaw the results of the fighting, and they used him so much in the campaigns that he came to be depended upon. He went through his ceremony, and he would say, "You should go here; you should not go there." That is how he became a leader.

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This happened to S., and he was a good Christian then. He was asleep by a window. It was at the time of a big snow. That night someone knocked at the window. S. and his wife heard it. At first they paid no attention. Finally S. called and asked who was there. He received no answer. They went to sleep. In the morning they went to the window and saw a track there. S. started to follow it. The trail led to the mountain. He followed it for a while, but he got tired and came back. Tracks like that usually lead to graves.

The greatest misfortune of all is to see the ghost in human-like form and to recognize the actual features:

I have heard stories of persons who have seen the dead. Those who see things like that die within a year. A certain man's wife died. At that time he was well. After her death he saw his wife; she came back and talked to him. She said, "It is a better world where I am. Come on." This man took sick and died a short time afterward. There is no way to protect yourself or prevent your death when a thing like this happens.

Most often it is in dreams that the dead are distinctly seen:

Ghosts appear also in dreams, in sleep. That is the worst form, I guess. You really see them in a dream. I get like that. The door opens and they get closer and closer. I want to get up and fight, but I can't move. I can just say, "Ah!" The Chiricahua say this is ghost sickness. It can make a person very ill. It's a sign of trouble with evil ghosts if you do that too much, and you have to go to a shaman about it.

Sometimes at midnight or toward morning while you are asleep, you dream that a person is choking you. It might be a dead person, a relative gone a year or two ago. If it happens for another night or two, you must go to a ghost shaman. If you see a dead person in your sleep, you are not going to last long, they say.

A dream in which his recently deceased friend appeared before him was described by a much-shaken informant:

This morning about four o'clock I dreamed of Old P. standing at the door. I woke up frightened and grabbed my wife. Maybe he came back because I sang his ceremonial song. The very night that P. died I dreamed he came to me. I didn't tell my wife because she would have been frightened. But they don't bother me much. I have my cross,[12] and they stay away. P. claimed that he knew nothing but Yusn and Child of the Water.[13]

[12] The cross of the Silas John cult, a modern religious movement which draws in part from aboriginal religious ideas, in part from Christianity. The cross, made of algerita wood, is worn to ward off evil and witchcraft.

[13] The informant here is trying to reassure himself. Since Yusn and Child of the Water are beneficent supernaturals, he is proving to himself that his departed friend can be up to no mischief.

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"Throw it away! It will make you sick!" A similar attitude is reflected in this statement:

When you are sick the shaman may tell you that you have slept on an eagle feather or something like that which has made you ill. You could get sick from the eagle. And there were people [shamans] who knew about that.

Lots of people even felt that it was a bad sign to have an eagle fly around the camps in the old days. When birds are supposed to be wild and to live out in the mountains, they shouldn't come around where people live. It looked to the Chiricahua as if they were being sent when they did come, as if they were a bad sign.

But there are also those who express no fear of the eagle. "Eagle feathers are thought to give a person strength. The eagle is not regarded like a coyote [i.e., inherently evil]." Moreover, eagles are trapped and killed for their feathers, and eaglets are occasionally reared in cages until they can be plucked.

In general an unfavorable overtone and some fear mark comments about the buzzard:

Some are afraid of the buzzard. I remember that, when I'd go to pick up a buzzard feather, my father would call out, "Drop that feather!" Most Chiricahua do not think much about buzzards until they have a ceremony performed over them and a shaman gives them some directions about it, such as not to let the shadow of a buzzard fall upon them, or something like that. But these restrictions are not true for every Chiricahua; they are not general.

Another bird that is viewed with circumspection is the parrot:

The Chiricahua were not very familiar with parrots. Once in a while they saw them in Mexico. Only a few people have seen the parrot. They know it mocks you, and they don't like to be around it. They are afraid of it. They say, "Why is it that a bird imitates people? There must be something to it." I have heard people say, "If a bird talks, there must be a witch in him."

Horse, mule, spider, Thunder People, Mountain People.—There are a few creatures and supernaturals which are to be feared only if they are somehow offended. The horse and the mule, the spider, the Thunder People, and the Mountain People comprise this list. Of the first two, it is said:

If you mistreat a horse, if you hit it on the head repeatedly, it may take revenge on you. It will cause you to get sick. Then you must go to a shaman who specializes in the ceremony of the horse. The mule is bad if you mistreat it; it will cause you to be sick too. The man who knows the horse cures both kinds of sickness.

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825 [753] The "sickness" brought by the horse is the injury suffered in an accident for which a horse is held responsible.

If the spider or its web is not molested, there is no need to worry about this insect. But, as an informant explained, "We are all taught not to kill spiders. The spider has power and can do harm if angered."

The Chiricahua will not walk into a spider web. They call the strands of the web sunbeams and say that, if you damage these, Sun will make a web inside you [821] and kill you. The spider web is connected with the sun because it looks just like a sun as it hangs there.

825 783 If you kill a spider, the same thing will happen. If you do kill a spider, there is a rule to follow. If I should kill one, I'd say what I have heard many older people say, "The president killed you." Or they name a white man or someone they don't like—anyone as long as it is not themselves. It's a lie but they do it. They put it off on someone else. This is done, too, when you kill any dangerous insect, like a beetle or a centipede. The danger in killing or injuring a spider is that the next spider will miss the one you killed or hurt and come and harm or bite you.

753 821 [776] The most obvious evidence that the Thunder People are displeased with an individual occurs when he is actually struck by lightning. However, fright is again a powerful sickening agent: "The scare harms you." Lightning is said to be accompanied by an odor which comes from the powder or smoke that arises where it strikes. This powder, if it is inhaled, manifests itself in the ailment recognized as "lightning sickness."

The smoke or dust causes harm as well as the fright. This settles in the body. Lightning sickness affects you inside the body; it affects the stomach. When a person has lightning sickness, he vomits and has a little fever. His feet and hands are cold. He feels sickly and is in poor health generally. Then he should go to a shaman and have a lightning ceremony performed; the sooner the better for him.

A young man described his illness after lightning had struck close to him:

It was so close that I had breathed in all the lightning powder. About two weeks after that I began to be sick. I couldn't eat, and they took me to the hospital. I was sick to my stomach all the time. . . . . I didn't get any better before I went home. My mother-in-law said right away to my wife, "He has the lightning sickness. That powder he breathed in from the lightning has settled in his stomach and turned to frog spittle [i.e., the green growth on stagnant water]."

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Since it is so dangerous when lightning strikes near by, everything is avoided that might "draw" it: 753 821 784

When I was little I was told not to have anything red around when it was raining. Even in camps we used to stick red things under something so they wouldn't show. We consider it dangerous to have red things out during a storm. It is because they draw lightning. Red is connected with lightning. And today the Chiricahua do not like anything red to be around when it rains, like a red blanket. It is covered up or taken off the bed. [822]

During a thunderstorm the Chiricahua refrain from eating, even though the food is prepared and waiting. Eating during a storm causes much lightning, it is thought. Even if nothing else happens, a person who eats during lightning will lose his teeth. [264]

A paint [pied or spotted] horse is dangerous during a thunderstorm. If you are riding one at such a time, you get off. [231]

It is dangerous to have a little fawn around in the rainy season. If they find one, they get scared and let it go, for lightning is likely to strike you if you keep it. [825]

The Mountain People are ordinarily pitted against disease, but they may themselves cause sickness if their rules are ignored. "The Mountain Spirits may cause you to become disfigured. That is why the masked dancers do not touch each other. Many are afraid of this sickness." Insanity may be regarded as punishment for omission of necessary ritual gestures during the masked-dancer preparation: "If the masked-dancer headdress is put on without ceremony, it makes you crazy; you see the Mountain Spirits all the time." 776 753 [732] [535] [784] [828]

Menstrual blood.—Menstrual blood is dangerous for males, and girls are taught to dispose carefully of pads worn during the flow. The illness suffered by a man or a boy as a result of contact with menstrual blood is always described as rheumatism or malformation of the joints. The most serious form of the malady is contracted from union with a menstruating woman. "The Chiricahua are afraid to have intercourse with a woman during her period. It makes them misshapen and deformed. They become unable to straighten their arms or legs. I heard of one man who did this. This man was pointed out to me. He was deformed in this way." 841 753 [834] [732]

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Some shamans next seek to learn whether they will be able to relieve the patient. One ceremonialist has, in recent times, looked at the sick person through a black silk handkerchief to determine this. Another draws the moon or a star with pollen on the palm of his right hand, and figures appear for him which permit him to prophesy concerning the outcome.

To determine the cause of the ailment and to learn what he must do to cure it, the shaman sings and prays. In this way he attracts the attention of the guardian spirit with whom the songs and prayers originated. He may sing without musical accompaniment, or he may beat time with a curved drumstick on the pottery drum that has been thus described:

> Women make the pot. Men fix it to sing with and make the drumstick. The drum is a piece of buckskin stretched over a clay pot. Water and four pieces of charcoal, each the size of the end of my thumb, are put in. The charcoal is required for a ceremony. It makes the sound good too. The water is to keep the buckskin damp. The buckskin is wet and stretched over the mouth of the pot. It takes several men [to fix the buckskin in place]. It is sounded until it is right and then tied. Then four little holes are made in the buckskin. If this is not done, it will not be much of a drum. It helps the sound and is of ceremonial importance too. The drumstick is made of any kind of green wood that can be bent. Oak is sometimes used for it.

Less frequently the musical accompaniment is a rattle of some kind. Rattles of eagle claws and mountain-goat hooves have been mentioned for shamanistic rites. Occasionally, the shaman has an assistant who drums for him and aids him throughout the rite.

The songs are formal and unvarying for any one ceremony. The prayers tend to be extemporaneous, however, reflecting the need and the occasion. The song, and often the prayer, is divided into four parts or verses, all alike except for different associations of color and direction. The traditional color-directional association which is found in the mythology is black for the east, blue for the south, yellow for the west, and white for the north. Shamans take repeated liberties with this scheme, but for any one rite internal consistency is maintained. It is at the second or fourth verse of a song or prayer, or at the end of the second or

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That shaman knows my wife is worse. He knows she got sick just before his boy died. We moved over there and had our camp near his. He didn't do anything. I've done a lot for that man. I gave him a steer when his daughter had her puberty rite. I've taken him other food. He thinks I should keep right on doing things for him.

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Often the service that a shaman has rendered his client is the basis for closer friendly relations. Although the process is informal, this bond is an important one for many individuals. "There is no set rule that a cured patient is under obligation to a shaman, but sometimes a person himself feels that way."

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Where a ceremony ends in failure, the shaman does not suffer irreparable injury to his reputation unless he has expressed himself too confidently concerning a favorable outcome. The result may be attributed to the fact that the shaman was not called in time or to the strength of an opposing witch. The ultimate effects of the rite are not always at once obvious, though it is hoped that the ceremony will pave the way for steady recovery. Should that recovery lag, it may be accounted for by the patient's carelessness in the wearing of the protective amulet, or by his failure to observe strictly the taboos. That a shaman may succeed in one case and not in another is conceded. To "try" the ceremonies of a number of practitioners before relief from some tenacious ailment is obtained has been the experience of a large percentage of adults at some time in their lives.

CEREMONIALISM IN ACTION; OBTAINING AND USING POWER

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Mountain People.—The functions of the Mountain People and of their most important representatives, the Mountain Spirits, are well illustrated in the myths. One tale describes the curing of two children, one legless and one blind. Abandoned, these two try vainly to follow their people. The blind boy carries the cripple and is guided by his directions. Then the Mountain People appear and conduct the boys to their "home."

Many people lived in that mountain. They dressed all kinds of Mountain Spirits for these boys. They prayed and began to sing. There were women in the mountain too. The women made the sound, the cry of applause, as they do at the big tepee during the girl's puberty rite now.

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755 773 796 By the ceremony of the Mountain Spirits the boys are restored to bodily perfection and are returned to their parents.

773 796 Another story tells of the flight of a man from a large force of traditional enemies. He runs, praying, toward a place known to be a home of the Mountain People. At his appeal, Mountain Spirits swarm from the cliff wall, surround the enemy, and drive them into a cave which then closes upon them. This myth emphasizes the protective role of the Mountain People who guard the tribal territory and defend the people from enemies and disease.

756 796 798 535 688 773 Another tale calls attention to the care which must be exercised during the masked-dancer ceremony and indicates the prominent place of the clown in the ritual. A shaman informs the people that he is going to paint masked dancers at a mountain far from the camps. He advises everyone, except the dancers and those who will assist him in preparing them, to stay on the flats below. Particularly does he warn parents to keep their children away from the place, and he reminds his hearers that they are not to call the names of the dancers when the performance begins. A little girl creeps up to the forbidden site, nevertheless, and mentions the name of an impersonator when the dancing starts. The shaman, immediately aware of what has occurred, tries to intercede for her with the Mountain People and finally conceals her under the fire. Soon Mountain Spirits come and displace their impersonators. On each of the first three nights a [796] [522] Mountain Spirit of a different color vainly leads the search for the miscreant. On the fourth night Long Nose or Gray One, the clown, heads the line and succeeds. For her impiety the girl is slain.

773 796 784 535 Another myth stresses the penalty for disrespect toward the Mountain Spirits and suggests the association between the masked-dancer rite and ceremonial defense against epidemics. Masked dancers are joined by two mysterious strangers who are superlative performers. The people seek to learn their identity. After the dance of the fourth night, riders stationed on swift horses pursue the two strangers. But the fastest mounts are outdistanced, a rock wall opens to receive the runners, and

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the mortals realize that they have pursued actual Mountain Spirits. "Not long after that disease broke out among them and killed many of them."

The Mountain Spirits are held in such fear and reverence that those who have no ceremony from them are hesitant even to discuss them. One man explained, "I'm not supposed to tell stories about the Mountain Spirits because it is dangerous for me," and another said: "In order to use another word besides Mountain Spirit in the stories, a term 'man from the mountains,' is used. This is put in the story a few times to show that the Mountain Spirits are held in awe and to prevent harm befalling the teller."

Masked-dancer ceremonies, though they may be later taught to others, always originate in a personal supernatural experience. The following account is a good example of the type.

My father is a shaman. He got his ceremony when he was a young man. It was this way. You know that Guadalupe Mountain over here. It is a religious mountain, a holy mountain. My father says that this place is the home of Mountain People. He says a spirit came to him and told him to go into that mountain. Someone talked to him, but he did not see anyone. It was outside the mountain that something, or someone, told him to enter. That was the first time anything had spoken to him; he was getting his first power.

When he thought he heard a voice telling him to go into the cliff, he turned around and started to enter the mountain. The cliff opened like a door. He says that the clown met him at the door. The clown said, "Follow me," and they came to the first outside door. Near by was a great rock turning around and around. They call it by a name that means "rock that swings around together." My father says he was frightened, but the clown told him, "Don't be afraid. You must go through four doors, all different. Don't be frightened because the rock is acting this way." Then he said, "Sh! Sh!" pointing his forefinger at the rock, and the rock stopped. He told my father to follow him. They went on.

They came to the second door. There were two great snakes there, twisting and squirming, and biting at each other. They were guarding the door. They were not really biting each other, just trying to. They were not allowing anyone to pass. The clown said, "Do not be afraid of them." The clown went ahead, and my father was close behind. The clown said again, "Sh! Sh!" pointing his forefinger at the snakes, and the snakes stopped twisting and biting.

So they passed the snakes and went on to the next door, the third door. Here there were two big mountain lions, one on either side of the door. They were trying to keep everyone from going through that door. They had their mouths open, and when they saw my father they were just wild. The clown said, "You must not be afraid; they are not going to hurt you." The clown went on ahead,

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776 and when he came to the mountain lions, he again pointed his finger, saying,
756 "Sh! Sh!" and they quieted down. My father and the clown went through the
778 door.

Then came the fourth door. There was nobody in there at the door. All these
796 doors were rock. At the fourth door the guide again repeated, "Sh! Sh!" and the
787 door opened. When my father got into the fourth room, it was just as if he were
535 in high mountains.

539 After the last door had opened, my father looked about a hundred feet away. There was one old man sitting over there. The guide said, "That man is going to talk to you now, and you want to be very careful. He is the leader in this place. We are going to walk right up there, and he is going to ask you some questions in a rough voice, but don't be afraid. Now he sees you coming with me."

So they started to walk up to that old man. He was sitting in a big chair in an open place. He was an old, old man, with garments over his head and all around him. The clown told my father, "When I take you up there I am going to leave you, and he will talk to you. Don't be afraid. He is a kind man."

The clown and my father reached this old man. Then the clown said, "Ready!" and disappeared. This left my father standing there alone before that man, and that old man sat up looking angry. My father was standing right in front of him.

Then the old man said to my father, "What do you want in here? You have no business in here." Then my father was frightened. "You tell me what you want. You are not allowed in here; humans from outside are not allowed in here."

But my father said, "I want to live long in this world, and I want to be blessed. I want to live to be an old man."

"All right, you mean it, do you? You think you are going to be afraid?"

My father said, "I will try not to be afraid; that is not what I am looking for. I am looking for something good for myself and for my children, so that they will have some blessings. I have wanted to go into some holy place like this one I am in now. Will you help me?"

The old man said, "All right. I have talked roughly to you, but I will do what you say. I am a kind man. I have control of this whole mountain." Then my father says he saw some hills all around there.

The conversation went along like this with my father and the old man. "What kind of power do you want?" the old man asked him. "I have some very strict rules, so strict that if you fail, you are going to die. They will harm you, and if you fail them you are going to lose your life or some of your family. I tell you that beforehand. What kind of a shaman do you want to be?"

My father answered, "I can't tell unless I see what you will give me." He wanted to be shown.

The old man said, "You just wait a minute."

Then he got up. He could hardly get up; he was a very old, old man. He walked behind a little hill in there. He came back and took his seat. Then my

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father said he could hear things ringing, drums, and singing just like the masked dancers dancing—Apache drums and singing. He heard it in the east as if many dancers were coming. And then they came in from the east, the clown leading them. Many Indians dressed in buckskin and Mountain People came, dancing. Then they stopped right where he was. All kinds of birds, animals, and snakes came behind the Mountain People.

The old man told him, "These are the ceremonies I have here. Which do you want? Pick out the one you want and don't make a mistake."

When the old man finished speaking, my father said, it seemed that it was the privilege of those animals and Mountain People to say what they wanted to him. One little bird came up to my father and said to him, "I am the greatest power on earth; take me." Then the eagle came up and said, "I am the greatest power here; take me." Then the animals came up, also the snakes, and said the same thing.

My father says he thought of it from the beginning, of how the old man said not to make any mistake. So my father turned around and thought, "These little birds are too willing, and these others are too willing. There are some others sitting over there. I must not make a mistake."

He saw that the Mountain Spirits were the leading ones in there. So my father hesitated and thought, "Well, the clown and the Mountain Spirits haven't said anything to me."

They came around with a drum, with turquoise and a pollen cross on the drum. "The clown and Mountain Spirits say nothing, but they are good," my father thought. So my father turned to the old man and said, "I will take the Mountain Spirits."

That is the way it is today. Just as soon as he chose the Mountain Spirits, all the rest were ordered to go back. Just the Mountain Spirits were left. After all the birds, snakes, and animals were gone, there came many Indians, all dressed just like Chiricahua Apache. They started singing. My father has told me, "I was going through the performance. I got all the songs and designs. For four days I made masked dancers with a different design every day on each one." My father was learning the ceremony.

The old man said to him then, "You have done well. You did not make a mistake. I was watching you. The birds, animals, and snakes asked you to choose them, but you did right to choose the Mountain Spirits. They are the most powerful, the best thing here. Now you are going to stay here and have a good time for four days."

My father says that after this the Indians gathered, and they began to dance just as they do at the girl's puberty ceremony. White Painted Woman ran just as the girls do now. So my father in four days learned the whole thing. My father called the mountain "Holy Mountain." He says that he gets messages from these people whenever he holds his ceremony. When he wants to know how to cure a man, they come and tell him. He says they talk. He stayed another four days and four nights there.

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776 After four days the old man asked him, "Do you have what you want?" My
756 father said, "Yes."
778 He said, "You didn't make any mistake."
778 My father answered, "I hope not."
796 The old man explained, "This is a good thing for you. The Mountain People
787 will take care of you all your life. You can hand the ceremony down to anyone
535 you want to. You can do anything you like. If the ceremony is given to your
539 child, you will not have to ask for any ceremonial gifts; but if it is passed on to other people, then you can ask for gifts. But if you love someone else, you can hand it down to that one without gifts."

The Mountain People gave him directions. "You cannot sing these songs for nothing." So today my father is hard to convince on that.

After the four days, when this old man had told him he had what he wanted, the Mountain Spirits had all gone. Then the clown came. The old man ordered the clown back. The old man told my father, "That is all. I am through with you. Everything is all right. I hope you have a long life in this world. You may go home and use the ceremony according to what the Mountain People want you to do."

The clown had to take my father back through the mountain. They had to come back through those doors. They came again to the big mountain lions. The clown said, "Sh! Sh!" and told my father to come right behind him. They returned to the snakes. The snakes tried to stop them. The clown said, "Sh! Sh!" and then told my father to come right behind him. Then they reached the last door, that great rock swinging around and around. The clown stopped there and said to the rock, "Sh! Sh!" and to my father, "You come right behind me." And they went through. Then they came to the cliff. The clown said, "Sh! Sh!" again, and the whole thing opened like a door. The clown started to walk down the steep bluff. He said, "You must come behind me." My father says when he first went up there the spirit lifted him up suddenly, but now he had to follow the clown down or stay where he was. He did not think he could walk down the cliff but he followed the clown, and they walked down easily.

The clown said, "Here are four things I am going to give you." He gave him a little eagle feather, a very fine feather, and said, "This is one." He held something in his hand and said, "This is a small round turquoise with a hole in it. That makes two." He put the feather through the turquoise. He said, "If you are going to sing for a sick boy, the parents of the boy or his other relatives must give you a turquoise with an eagle feather like this. If he really wants to get well and believes in you, he must also give you a live thing, a horse or a cow, or anything you want, but it must be alive. The turquoise and eagle feather are used only in curing men and boys. The other gifts, which girls and women must give you, are the changing abalone and pollen. They must be tied in this way: the pollen must be in a little buckskin bag, and the string must be put through the hole in the abalone and tied in this way."

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825 deep, so they came back. People tell of homes of the mountain sheep like this too. They see the holes and the trails of the sheep going to them. I have heard of homes of animals in Hot Springs country too.

825 773 796 In this tale and in many others there is no attempt to link the animal home with the Mountain People, but in a description of the place where the first moccasin game was played there is a hint of such a nexus. "At the bottom of this mountain is a hole, a cave. In there the Mountain People live. Inside, it is about eight feet square. There is nothing but deer tracks there. The ground moves there."

It is evident from some descriptions of the Mountain People that they are considered not only the denizens of a given mountain but also the custodians of the wild life ranging in the vicinity. Often the power-acquisition stories have the "holy homes" of the Mountain People richly populated with game animals. The most unequivocal statement on this subject came from an Eastern Chiricahua who said:

All the animals, horses, sheep, come from the mountains. The Mountain People keep them. They take them in at night sometimes and let them out to graze here on earth during the day. R. killed a big buck here. It was cut [castrated]. That shows that the Mountain People make steers too.

796 782 [798] Anyone who is in the vicinity of a home of the Mountain People, whether he has power from them or not, sprinkles pollen toward the holy place and prays, "Protect us from enemies and do not let harm befall us while we are near you." Those who are in need are advised to appeal to the Mountain People: "A man who made masked dancers said, 'Any time you are in trouble or in danger from animals, pray to the Mountain People, and they will come from the mountains and protect you.'"

796 782 796 *Life Giver, Child of the Water, and White Painted Woman.*—The nebulous and remote Supreme Being is definitely not the source of any particular ceremony:

If a man felt that he was having bad luck, he might go out and ask Life Giver to help him. A man might get a ceremony of some kind at such a time in answer to his prayer, or he might just be helped out of his present trouble. If he gets a ceremony that will help him right along, that ceremony will come from some other source, like lightning or an animal, and not directly from Life Giver. But his prayer to Life Giver starts it.

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When a person has a special ceremony, from Lightning, for instance, he will pray directly to Lightning and will not call on Life Giver. But many feel that Life Giver is answering through this other source. Life Giver is an old conception.[11] The very old Indians pray this way. Some old Indians who don't know the first thing about Christianity the way the preacher speaks of it, pray this way. . . . . We think of Life Giver as a spirit of no particular sex. We do not attribute deeds to Life Giver. No pollen would be thrown to Life Giver.

Child of the Water figures prominently in religious traditions and ritual. However, it is believed that his work was largely completed when he departed from earth. Though he once busied himself prodigiously with the affairs of man, now he is almost a sky-god, magnificent and rather remote. Occasionally, someone believes that Child of the Water has "talked" to him. One informant was certain that this supernatural was reaching him through the medium of dreams, for instance.

For ceremonial purposes White Painted Woman is the feminine counterpart of Child of the Water, and the time of her direct impingement upon worldly affairs, too, is at an end. Perhaps the most important use of this supernatural in rites now is a symbolic one. For instance, in a certain lightning ceremony the earth is referred to as White Painted Woman. This symbolism proves to be a dramatization of the legend of the birth of the culture hero. Just as lightning strikes the earth today, so White Painted Woman lay down "while the lightning flashed four times and acted as a man to beget Child of the Water. This is why the three are connected, and to this day White Painted Woman is mentioned in the lightning ceremony."

The ideological association between the earth and White Painted Woman is found in more than one context. "In any

[11] Despite this insistence on the antiquity of the conception of Life Giver, a good guess would be that the present position of this deity is a response to European doctrine. The word that has been translated Life Giver can be literally rendered "the one because of which I live." The individual still refers to his personal supernatural power source by that same linguistic form or a slight variant of it. Life Giver is apparently a symbolization of supernatural power as such, the reservoir from which particular power grants and ceremonies flow. The European influence in this greater personalization of diffuse supernatural power can be inferred from the synonyms for Life Giver, which are Yusn (from the Spanish *Dios*) and "He Sits in the Sky."

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776 823 political speech or religious speech . . . . the world or earth is called 'Earth Woman.' This really refers to White Painted Woman. The real way to say 'all the people of the earth' is to say 'all the people on the top of Earth Woman.' "

776 755 756 A shaman once had a girl impersonate White Painted Woman to symbolize the feminine principle:

> He chose a little girl, nine or ten years old, and marked her and told her to come up and give food to the patient. Then he prayed again. Then the little girl picked up the food and first gave the patient the soup . . . . marked with pollen and an herb. She picked up the spoon which the man had marked with pollen, but the ceremonial man made four motions with her hand to the mouth of the patient, and then said, "You give him all he wants. It won't hurt him."
>
> . . . . The shaman said, "That part of the ceremony I performed where I took the girl to feed the man—she was part of the ceremony. . . . . She knew the power of Woman; that's why I used her. Woman, White Painted Woman, is the power I was using. If the patient had been a woman, I would have used Child of the Water [i.e., a boy].

75 824 *Thunder* (*lightning*).—Sage is a most generally used prophylactic against lightning sickness. A spray of it is usually worn during rainy weather, and some is hung up in the form of a cross in the home. Cudweed is another plant for which similar properties are claimed. But, in spite of all safeguards, lightning sickness does occur, and a ceremony to cure it exists.

755 756 [787] I received my ceremony through a dream when I was a young man. I just lay down and dreamed that I heard a voice, and the words of my songs were repeated. The giver said these words of the song in my ear while I slept. I believe that this power came from Thunder.

I have cured boys around here. I tried to perform a ceremony on my daughters when they were sick, but they did not want it. They did not allow me to do it, and they died. They did not believe in it. I performed this ceremony for my son. The white doctor said there was no hope. I said to the doctor, "If there is no hope, I would like to take him home and be by his side when he dies." I took him home and performed the ceremony for four nights. The boy began to get better at once. The doctor was very surprised when he saw the boy around again. He said, "I didn't expect to see you well and around!" This was about seventeen years ago.

My ceremony cannot tell who a witch is.[32] I have no power over that. If I do

[754] [32] It is a comment on the degree of individuality among practitioners to note that another lightning shaman who believed that most witches were more powerful than shamans said, "The one exception is the man who gets his power from Lightning or Earth Mother. He has control over the witch."

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morning early, it goes to 'Cut-Grass-Sitting.'" "Cut-Grass-Sitting" is the name of a place. It is called on because the song [ceremony] started from there. It is a place in Old Mexico on the other [west] side of the Rio Grande.

Then I pray again, saying, "By tomorrow morning may all evil disappear and go to the east. May all the sickness that was above the heart in this person go to the west. From now on let him eat again." After this the patient says to me, "I was sick. Now I am well. I never knew you. Now you have made me well. I am well again. I am as I was before. If something like this happens to me again, I will appeal to you."

After the four songs and prayer the ceremony is over for the night. I do this for two nights. The songs and prayers are the same each night. I tell the sick person to put the black-handled knife under his pillow for the two nights so he won't get scared. And I tell him, "Don't eat tongue or liver."

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[796].

Summer tanager.—Nothing is said in the following tale of a curing ceremony from the tanager, but it is evident that the bird acted as a guardian spirit:

J. M. tells this one. During his war days when he was young, there was a boy he used to go with, just a young boy. This boy always sang like the summer tanager, that entirely red bird. One time this boy camped out alone and was lost from the group that was out raiding for horses. He was left at a water hole. They were to pick him up on their return. Instead of picking him up, they went right by and left him. He was crying there, for he had little to eat.

While he was crying, something lit in the tree above him. He paid no attention, for he was still crying. Then this bird came to him and touched him on the head. "Don't cry. I have come to show you many things and to lead you to a good country where you will be happy always. All your people are worrying about you because you haven't come back. The ones who left you are already at home. They brought a good bunch of mules and a herd of horses. But there are a few horses and mules left, the ones that they lost on the way. Take them and drive them back. I will go with you. Take my tail feathers. They will talk to you and warn you of danger.

"The ones who left you here are saying wrong things about you to your family. They are saying that you are dead. Your family is going to wait four days and then cut their hair. So be back before four days. I'm going to lead you. Turn this horse loose, catch the others, ride the black one first, then the second day ride the gray horse. There will be seven horses (yours will be the eighth) and two mules."

The boy was shown that he could see at night and see through mountains, and whenever he asked a question it was always answered. He always had the feathers ready in his hand so he could talk to them. The tanager also turned into a man and rode with him.

Before sunrise of the fourth day the people at camp saw someone coming.

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is cut into convenient sections. One man tells of his care to keep the meat of the right side separate from that of the left side until the butchering is concluded, but this seems to be personal with him. 224

If a hunter is on foot and far from his camp, it is likely that he will be able to take only part of the kill back with him:

If you are on foot and can't take it with you, you put the meat in a heap, place the hide over it, and say to the animals, "This belongs to Yusn; leave it alone." Then you hang it up in a tree by means of strongly spliced yucca strings. You hang it high enough so that animals cannot reach it. Then you put what you are going to take home in the hide. After reaching home, you go right back after the rest and bring it in. [283]

Another man mentioned a similar procedure, though he invokes a different supernatural:

You put part of the kill in a tree if you can't carry it all at once. It is tied there with strings made from the yucca leaf. There is a little prayer that is used at this time. You say, "This belongs to Hedos."[4] He was the "first man," sort of a religious man. He did this every time he made a kill. Now the Chiricahua do it. [283] [782] [776]

Crow is remembered with an offering. "Then I take the entrails out, put them to one side, and say, 'This is for you, Crow; make me lucky, and we'll have this kind of food all the time. I leave this for you every time.' " [825] [782] [776]

Certain parts of the deer must have special care if good fortune in the hunt is to be maintained: 224 825 777

As a general rule you must take the head home. Somebody might give you bad luck with it if you leave it there. You can do anything you want with it when you get it home, hang it up or anything. You must take the hoofs too. You can do what you want with them when you get them home too. Everybody is directed to do this.

A particular act also attends the bringing-back of the horns of a buck. "They take a slit of the entrails of a buck and tie it on the right horn. I was with M. hunting. He killed a deer and did this. I asked him why, and he said, 'For luck.' "

[4] This is the same supernatural character whose name was given before as Herus (see p. 198). The name is very unstable and has been recorded as Hados and Eyos as well.

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bound on the shaft with wet sinew. Sometimes a little piñon pitch is applied to the shaft at the point where the sinew will cross. 411 [314]

One feather is put on at a time, and the tops of the feathers are affixed to the shaft first. The first feather is held in place, and the sinew is wound around its top and the shaft once. The second feather is put in position and secured at the top with one strand of sinew also. Now the third feather is put in place, and the sinew is wound around it and the shaft many times. Then the arrow is put aside that the sinew may dry and tighten. When the craftsman is ready to resume work, he fastens the bottoms of the feathers to the shaft with sinew.

Flint arrowheads are used when they can be found. There is very little chipping of arrowheads. A single informant speaks of pounding slate and using the most likely pieces for arrowheads. Another, an Eastern Chiricahua, tells of seeing "flints used as arrowheads and one rock used to shape and chip another" during his youth. But the majority of commentators agree that their tribesman made no consistent attempt to manufacture flint arrowheads: 411 324

> The pieces of flint are found already shaped. The legend goes that the animals and the birds made them and used them in the fight against each other for daylight. [773] [825]

> The Chiricahua did not make stone arrowheads and beads. They found them. There were many of them in their country. They can be found in anthills there, the hills of the red ants. White shell beads are found there too.

> The arrowheads we have are found. They are said to have been made by a people who lived here before the Apache. . . . . These people are called the "ancient people" [Pueblo]. I don't think these people were here even in the memory of the old men. It must have been before that. [772]

Fine long blades and points found throughout the tribal range are also considered by some to be arrows of the Thunder People. [776]

When flints are to be affixed, the shaft is split, the arrowhead is inserted, and the shaft is tightly wrapped with moistened sinew. More commonly, however, no flint is used; the wooden tip of the arrow is simply sharpened and fire hardened. Often the arrow is fluted. With a sharp stone, the arrow-maker scratches 411

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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The native ideology concerning plants illustrates this conception of the objects of the natural world and the care taken to handle them properly. A plant with smaller ones of the same kind surrounding it is called "a mother and her children." A dried tree is known as "an old lady with grey hair." Some plants are "brother" or "sister" to others. Sotol is considered a male, the "brother" of *Yucca glauca*, the female element of this particular combination. Therefore the transverse pieces at the back of the cradle-board must be made of sotol stalk when the child for whom the cradle is designed is a male, and of yucca when it is being prepared for a baby girl. Likewise is this distinction kept in mind when the fire-drill is fashioned, the hearth being then of the yucca and the drill of sotol. Whenever an Apache digs up a root to be used for medicinal or ceremonial purposes, he always prays and puts the top of the plant back in the hole.

Life and conscious aims are attributed to natural forces as well. The Apache conception of thunder will serve as an example. Thunder is thought of as people and thunderclaps are the voices and shouting of these people. Lightning is the arrow of the thunder people and these arrows reach the earth as the elongated flints which the Apache find throughout their territory. At one time the thunder people hunted for the Apache and slew deer for them with these arrows. But those days are past and now the arrows of the thunder people are reserved for any who act disrespectfully to the thunder people or otherwise disobey the injunctions of Apache life. When the lightning flashes, the Apache says, "Let it be well, my brother Lightning," or "Strike high, my brother." When the lightning hits close the relationship is altered to make the prayer more appealing and the Apache says:

> Continue in a good way.
> Be kind as you go through;
> Do not frighten these poor people;
> My grandfather, let it be well;
> Don't frighten us poor people.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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821 784 776 Space does not permit a full discussion of the restrictions in food, speech, and even in the color of objects displayed during a storm, which are obeyed in order to appease the thunder people. But enough has been given, perhaps, to demonstrate that the Apache conceive of this natural force as alive and personified.

825 The same characterization attaches to insects and animals. To kill a spider will bring retaliation by his fellows. Therefore it is customary when an Apache has inadvertently stepped on a spider for him to say, "So-and-So killed you," [648] naming someone he especially dislikes. During the wars with the United States soldiers a favorite remark was, "Washington did it," when such a mishap occurred. The [753] malice of a mistreated horse or dog was said to result in serious consequences, and the ants were said to afflict anyone with bladder stones who urinated in or near their hills.

825 224 The extent to which it was thought necessary to go in order to win the approval and co-operation of the animal world is clearly indicated in hunting practices. The customs pertaining to the hunting of deer will serve as an example. [824] The deer are said to be sensitive to certain plants, such as wild onions and osha, and will hide from a hunter who digs them up or eats them immediately before the hunt. To eat 825 224 784 [264] before leaving for the hunt would be to forfeit any chance of success; even if there is an abundance of food at hand, the hunter must go out hungry, for the deer are not likely to take pity on a full stomach and reveal themselves. When the kill is made, the head must be turned to the east, and, in butchering, the carcass may never be straddled, nor may the hunter walk on the east side past the head. The lower end of the big intestine must be left for Raven. The eyes must be kept from Raven till the meat is brought in, otherwise, the game would not be fit for consumption. If a hunter should [787] be unable to find or kill deer for some time, he would assume that he had been careless in one of these or similar particulars and would go to a man who has a ceremony from deer in order to learn what he had done "against" the deer and how to correct matters.

3:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1946
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The seventh night when Dick got back to his camp he got after his power. The power said, "Don't get after me for a little thing. I know what's the matter with him. I know what to do for him. He's all right. He's not going away. His power put him in trouble. He can keep that or throw it away, but he can also have me if he wants to, and he and you can practice this ceremony and do good among your people."

Then on that seventh night Dick studied it and sent his power that night. Then they saw Tuisga sitting up. He was much better. They called for Dick. He knew what it was. When he came into the house he marked the house with pollen, marked the people present, and marked Tuisga.[11] At daybreak Tuisga was lifted up by the power.

While this was being done Dick was praying. He prayed and prayed and said, "All present, don't become frightened. You'll see something with your eyes." Then from high up you could hear something falling. It came from the sunrise and hit the roof. The house trembled.[12] They heard an object hit on the south side. The house moved. Then from the west side an object fell. The house seemed to quiver. Then from the north side, and they thought the roof was coming off this time. All were quietly praying.

Then Dick did something else. He asked that flour gravy be brought and given to this man. Tuisga was very hungry and weak. He hadn't eaten for sixteen days.

"Now," said Dick, "I'm going to sing one song with four verses, and everybody is going to dance whether he likes it or not.[13] And you women can call when you hear White-Painted Woman and Child-of-the-Water mentioned at the first verse.[14]

[11] Pollen, usually obtained from the cattail tule and symbolizing health, growth, and vitality, was a most sacred substance for the Chiricahua and was omnipresent in ceremonies. Marking the patient, the people, and the place with pollen is an act of blessing and purification.

[12] The Chiricahua Apache ceremonial circuit is sunwise, beginning with the east, the most important ritual direction.

[13] The dance may function as a prayer in Chiricahua ceremonialism.

[14] The ceremonial call of the women is a high-pitched ululating cry.

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toward spring sometime, and he pretty near died. It was pneumonia, I think. He told the story to others, and they spread it all right.

He was unconscious and out of his mind. He was out of his mind, but he wasn't dreaming. His relatives thought he was going to die. When he was out of his mind, he was somewhere else, as he told the story. He said afterward, "I saw the place where the dead people go. I was on a high mountain. On the side of the mountain there was grass, yucca, and rocks." His relatives were crying that he was going to die. He was already out of his mind and in the other place they said.

He said he felt that he was dying, and all at once he opened his eyes. He was sitting there and then he began to slide. He grasped the grass. He saw a big shoot down there.[21] He was part way in, just hanging on the edge.

Something said, "Look down there; that's where all the dead people are."

This man said, "I looked down there and saw all kinds of beasts down there. It's a big round cave. It's dark down there, but after while I saw bones. The animals, lions and others, were just waiting for me to fall." It's very, very peculiar, but it's the way he told it a few months before we came to Mescalero. He looked down and was holding on to the edge. The voice said, "Those are dead people's bones; those animals eat up the flesh."[22]

He did not yet know who was speaking to him. He just heard a voice. And he could hardly keep from sliding in there. It was a deep pit, nothing but solid rocks.

The voice said, "Look at me."

This man said, "I looked up. There was the Devil standing

[21] The aboriginal Chiricahua belief is of an underworld which the dead reach by falling through a hole in the earth's crust onto a cone of sand below.

[22] The punishment of the dead in the afterworld is an idea traceable to Christian doctrines. The aboriginal Chiricahua conception of the underworld pictured a land of plenty and contentment, with no judgment of the departed.

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[787] with horns and a tail with spears on; a red Devil, and every time
[796] he spoke, fire came out of his mouth.[23] The Devil told me,
[539] 'There's only one way you can be saved. You have to promise
[975] me that you'll be a faithful worker for me. Are you going to do it? If you say no, you're going to fall straight down and go to those beasts.'"

Then he replied, "Yes, I promise you I'll be a faithful worker for you if you will let me live in the world once more."

The man said, "All at once the Devil says, 'All right, stand up on the bank,' and he disappeared for a while. And then came the Devil with a high table and a big book and red ink. And he put the table there, and the book there, and I was standing right there. And he commenced to open the book, all written with red ink. He said, 'You see those men living here. Those are my men. They are living on earth. They are signed up with me already.' He kept turning the pages and came to the list of names. It was a big book and there were many pages to fill still. The Devil said, 'If you promise me you will do everything in this world that is wicked, if you will engage in mean ways and all that, I'll let you live a long while.'"

And they claim this man said, "All right," and signed up with him. After he signed his name the Devil disappeared. Then he opened his eyes. He was back on earth. His people were all crying and shouting.

He said, "What are you crying for? I'm not dead."

From then on he got well. He's a good worker too.

[178] [578] [23] In this account the Devil takes the place of evil power of older Chiricahua traditions and prolongs the life of the man who agrees to do his bidding. Needless to say, the person who made these allegations is a political and social enemy of the one who is accused of "signing up" with the Devil.

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1947
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right up to them and talk. You and I can't see it or hear it, but they can. Like in one ceremony I saw: the shaman said in one place, "Everything is light. I see a big light." He saw it, but it was a pitch-dark night, and we couldn't see a thing.

The Chiricahua, like all people who have developed a religious system, have had, in spite of the religious safeguards which they affirm, to recognize the existence of failure, danger, death, and evil. They account for them by a theory of the plasticity and duality of power. Thus hateful individuals may employ complacent power for malevolent rather than kindly ends. Or the personified source of the power may itself be represented as malicious and may lead weak-willed shamans into dubious practices by deceit, threats, and promises. Therefore it is necessary to be constantly wary of cleverly veiled evil power (sorcery) and of ceremonialists (witches) who are not above using their rituals to harm, betray, or cause illness. Consequently, a substantial part of Chiricahua ceremonialism, perhaps its most dramatic aspect, is the contest with supernatural power between the shamans and the sorcerers. Sometimes a shaman who controls one type of supernatural power, who has been granted a ceremony from a natural force or a heavenly body, for instance, may be suspicious of rituals from contrasting sources, such as the animals of the earth. These views are exemplified in the excerpts which follow:

I came to know that power is not good or bad of itself. It is just power. It can be used for good or evil. It all depends on the person who has it. Look at the power from the Mountain People. (The Mountain People are mountain-dwelling supernaturals who guard the Chiricahua and their territory from harm. They are impersonated by masked dancers.) The Mountain People are good. They help the Chiricahua. We have them at the girl's puberty rite. But they can, to the Chiricahua mind, be used for evil too. A good many people think X. is a witch and uses Mountain Spirit power for evil. A good many people will not go through that Mountain Spirit ceremony of his. When it is going on, they get pretty far in the back; they are taking no chances. But there are others who think it is all right, who go through with it and consider X. a shaman.